

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 OIC-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 COME-00

EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 AF-10 EUR-12 IOE-00 /100 W

-----181657Z 000966 /43/40

O 181345Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6328

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMMBASSY AMMAN 4767

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 10226

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR TEXT

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLAB, ILO

SUBJ: ILO - FURTHER DEMARCHE TO EGYPT

REF (A) CAIRO 9498, (B) CAIRO 9364, (C) STATE 129464,

(D) STATE 141251, (E) CAIRO 5292,

1. WE FULLY PREPARED MAKE FURTHER DEMARCHE TO GOE RE ILO

IF DEPT WISHES. BUT IN CONSIDERING WHETHER TO INSTRUCT US

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DO SO, DEPT WHOULD WEIGHT FOLLOWING PERTINENT FACTORS:

(A) IN PREVIOUS DEMARCHES, GOE - AT FAHMY LEVEL - MADE IT CLEAR

THAT, IN ABSENCE SOME INDICATION FLEXIBILITY IN USG POSITION,

EGYPTIAN POSITION EUQLLY FIRM. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE

THAT THERE IS ANY CHANGE IN GOE POLICY. ON CONTRARY, MFA OFF-

ICIALS INVOLVED IN ILO AFFAIRS, NOTABLY AMR MUSA, HAVE INDICATED

GOE SATISFIED WITH WAY THINGS ARE DEVELOPING IN GENEVA. PRESUMABLY ECHOING VIEWS OF FAHMY, MUSA HAS EXPRESSED REGRET AT OPPOSING USG AND GOE POSITIONS, BUT ATTRIBUTED INABILITY TO COOPERATE TO US RATHER THAN EGYPTIAN DEL. THIS PREDICTABLE, BUT FACT REMAINS DGE FEELS IT IS SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDING ARAB INTERESTS.

(B) UNFORTUNATELY, AS DEPT AWARE FROM PREVIOUS REPORTING, FAHMY AND HIS AIDES HAVE CHOSEN TO INTERPRET OUR PREVIOUS DEMARCHES ON SUBJECT AS VEILED USG ULTIMATUM DICTATED BY AFL-CIO LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY DENIED THIS AND INDICATED USG POSITIONS HAVE FULL WHITE HOUSE APPROVAL, BUT FAHMY REMAINS ADAMANT. NEVERTHELESS, AS DEPT AWARE, FAHMY REFUSES ACCEPT USG VIEW THAT ILO IS PURELY TECHNICAL AND NON POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. INSTEAD, HE CONSIDERS ILO AS INTENSELY POLITICAL AND IN THAT RESPECT SIMILAR TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA IN WHICH GOE NEEDS DEFEND WHAT IT REGARDS AS EGYPTIAN AND ARAB INTERESTS VIS-A-VIS ISRAELI ACTIVITIES IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

(C) IF WE ARE TO BE HONEST WITH OURSELVES, WE ERRED IN PRELIMINARY HANDLING OF MATTER. HIGH LEVEL US DEL SHOULD NEVER HAVE COME TO CAIRO TO SEE FONMIN BEFORE ILO CONF. DEPT WILL RECALL AMB RECOMMENDED AGAINST SUCH VISIT (CAIRO 5292). FOR REASONS WHICH WE DO NOT QUESTION, DEPT CONSIDERED IT DESIRABLE TO SEND HOROWITZ, BUT DOING SO WAS TACTICAL MISTAKE. IT PREMATURELY ENGAGED FAHMY DIRECTLY IN THE AFFAIR. IT FROZE HIS POSITION IN VERY DELICATE AND COMPLICATED MATTER AND THUS DISABLED MFA OFFICERS FROM TRYING TO MODIFY GOE FINAL CONFIDENTIAL

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POSITION EVEN IF THEY WISHED TO DO SO. ONE SENIOR MFA OFFICIAL HAS PRIVATELY MADE THIS POINT TO US. GOE POSITIONS WERE ALREADY AT ODDS WITH OURS, BUT WHATEVER SLIGHT FLEXIBILITY MIGHT HAVE BEEN INDUCED WAS BLOCKED BY FAHMY'S PREMATURE INVOLVEMENT.

(D) ADDITIONAL UNFORTUNATE ELEMENT IN THIS SITUATION IS THAT IT HAS DEVOLVED SOMEWHAT INTO A CONFLICT OF DELEGATIONS. EGYPTIANS KNOW WE ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT SHAFI. REGRETTABLY, FAHMY IS ALSO DISTURBED ABOUT US REP HOROWITZ, WHOM HE REPEATEDLY ACCUSES OF SELLING LIKE A "BROKEN RECORD IN BEHALF OF ISRAEL". JUST AS REPEATEDLY WE HAVE OBJECTED TO THIS CHARACTERIZATION. FAHMY OPENLY SCOFFS AT OUR CLAIM THAT USG POSITION IS BASED SOLELY ON ILO PROCEDURAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS. IF ANOTHER DEMARCHE IS MADE TO GOE, DANGER IS IT WILL END UP WITH US TRADING CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES OVER ACTIONS OF RESPECTIVE DELS.

2. WE NOW FACE QUESTION OF WHAT, IF ANYTHING, CAN BE DONE

TO MODERATE EGYPTIAN POSITION. FAHMY HAS INSISTED ALL ALONG THAT SHAFEI IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO COOPERATE IF US DEL SHOWS SOME FLEXIBILITY ON ITS PART. OUR SCOPE FOR FLEXIBILITY IS CLEARLY LIMITED, HENCE CLASH IS PERHAPS INEVITABLE. WE DOUBT THAT ANY GENERAL APPEAL TO FAHMY TO MODERATE SHAFEI'S ACTIVITIES, AND IT WILL HAVE TO BE MADE TO FAHMY, WILL HAVE ANY EFFECT. IF WE ARE TO MAKE ANOTHER DEMARCHE, IT SHOULD BE ON SPECIFIC POINT OR POINTS CLEARLY AT ISSUE IN GENEVA TALKS. BUT AS PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN, FAHMY WILL NOT ACCEPT A TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT APPROACH. IF ANY SUCH DEMARCHE IS TO OFFER PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS, IT SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME INDICATION OF WHATEVER FLEXIBILITY WE MAY BE ABLE TO OFFER.

3. ONE OTHER THOUGHT OCCURS TO US THAT WE BE HELPFUL. WE HAVE READ PAST GENEVA REPORTING THAT SAUDIS AND SOME OTHER ARAB DELS DESIRE BE MODERATE AND HAVE EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS ABOUT EGYPT'S DEL'S POSITION, ALTHOUGH WE ALSO NOTE THEY

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APPEAR UNANIMOUSLY TO HAVE JOINED EGYPT IN ABSTAINING ON RECORD VOTE RE ARTICLE 17 (STATE 139034). IF SAUDIS AND OTHER MODERATE ARAB DELS ARE IN FACT UNHAPPY WITH EGYPT DEL'S STAND, DEPT MAY WISH CONSIDER MAKING URGENT APPROACH TO SAG AND OTHER ARAB GOVTS SUGGESTING THAT THEY JOIN US IN URGING GOE TO INSTRUCT ITS DEL AT GENEVA TALKS TO SHOW MORE MODERATION AND WILLINGNESS COOPERATE WITH US. THIS IS A LONG SHOT, SINCE WE FRANKLY DOUBT THAT SAG OR OTHER ARAB GOVTS WOULD MAKE SUCH SUPPORTING DEMARCHE IN CAIRO, BUT IT'S WORTH CONSIDERING.

4. FINALLY, WISH INVITE DEPT ATTENTION TO FACT THAT FAHMY AND HIS PRINCIPAL AIDES LEAVE FOR OAU FONMIN'S CONF IN LIBREVILLE JUNE 22 OR 23. SINCE ANY NEW DEMARCHE HAS TO BE MADE BY HIM. IT WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE BEFORE THAT TIME. EILTS

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